5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

439 communities. When these do occur they are usually between neighbouring
437 communities, as Waddell and Krinks have clearly demonstrated.[9] Intertribal
438 trade, though small in volume, was politically important in that it provided a motive for terminating, or at least interrupting, warlike disputes. Intertribal trade
[628] was mainly in animal products, betelnut ingredients, feathers, *hambo*, and certain artifacts which were known to be of high quality in particular districts, e.g. Binandere pots were exchanged for Yega loincloths; only mountain people could supply cassowary feathers, and so on. Such exchanges may, under modern conditions, take the form of gift exchange, barter or sale but it may be doubted whether barter was ever as clearly institutionalised and differentiated from gift exchange among the Orokaiva as is the case in many other parts of Melanesia.

433 *Money.* With a few reservations, one could describe the role of money in
436 the modern Orokaiva economy in much the same terms as Salisbury used for the Siane (1962). Salisbury distinguishes between three nexuses of activity. One is concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of subsistence goods, another with luxury goods and a third with ceremonial goods. The three nexuses involve not only categories of goods but also different types of social
436 groups. Among the Orokaiva as among the Siane, money mainly enters the luxury and ceremonial nexuses. As with the Siane, the Orokaiva tend to store
454 pound notes in treasure boxes, with *di* and *hambo*, and to keep them for special purposes which are often ceremonial (payment of brideprice, giving of feasts and
436 church donations), but sometimes utilitarian (payment of taxes). Purchases in
439 trade stores are mostly for luxury items, i.e. objects which the Orokaiva use only when there are guests to be entertained (tinned meat and fish, sugar, tea,
[262] batteries, cartridges, kerosene and tobacco, for example). Foods like rice, bread and flour are classifiable as luxuries among the hill people, as here they are used exclusively as guest foods. It is clear, however, from Waddell and Krinks' statistics that on the alluvial plains near Popondetta, rice and flour is bought in far greater quantity in months when taro is in short supply. These products are thus taking the place of subsidiary crops. People in this area prefer to make money from cash crops and services and to spend some of their cash on supplementary staples. The Siane, at the time of Salisbury's research, did not depend on cash as a source of staple food.

177 The use of money for capital goods merits some attention. Salisbury defines
436 capital as a stock of goods, present before a productive act is performed, used in production and 'immobilised' from direct consumption while the act is in
439 progress. Tools and implements are classed as 'durable instruments of production.' Houses and clothing, etc., are called consumer's capital because they
511 'produce' services for their owners while they exist. It is interesting to compare, in respect of monetary input, everyday consumer goods and the types of capital just mentioned. While the former have generally remained outside the cash economy, it is precisely in the sphere of capital goods that the traditional industries have been largely or wholly replaced by cash-purchased innovations such as trade, store clothing, agricultural, hunting and cooking implements. Totally new items – radios, flashlights, wrist watches, pressure lamps, sewing machines and guitars have been added. Locked suitcases, for the storage of valuables, are very popular, indicating that safe storage used to be a vexing problem.

operatives they had given them the key to European prosperity. 461 [797]

Local enthusiasm was strong and a large acreage of rice was grown. However, no marketing facilities had been provided and although the mission had promoted the crop mainly to supplement traditional subsistence foods, most Orokaiva seem to have regarded it as a cash crop. They already had a plentiful range and volume of subsistence foods, and rice was not only harder to grow but also more difficult to prepare than the existing crops. Most of the rice grown was neither sold nor eaten, but was left to rot in the storehouses. 243 433

It is interesting to note that at Ongoho, despite the unfortunate experience with other community crops, all inhabitants of the same nine villages came together to plant a single rice plot. The project was organized by Haruma, the coffee boss, and the rice was planted on the land of the Akute'undi sub-clan. The crop was planted in 1949, and the rice was stored in a house built for the purpose. None of the rice was sold, a little was used for food, but most was left to rot. The experiment was not repeated. When asked why everyone combined to grow the rice instead of growing it individually, the people claimed that they had not realized at that time that cash crops could be grown by individuals. This view may seem incredible to a European, but we have heard it quoted in many parts of the Orokaiva area. Their whole experience of cash cropping had been of large scale enterprises, whether private European plantations, government plantations (which were established adjacent to many district headquarters), compulsory plantings under the regulations, or communal plantations under the ordinance. The introduction in 1955-6 of the concept of cash cropping by individuals was in a very real sense revolutionary.(1)

The idea of community economic activity was again given a boost in 1949 when war damage compensation was paid out. A small proportion was paid in cash, but most was deposited in savings bank accounts. Many government officers then in the area noted that the money was being used to buy 434 454 474

(1) It must be pointed out, however, that among the Orokaiva food gardening had always been undertaken by individuals. [241]

434 [513] [431] [525] was in recognition of kinship obligations including bride price and gifts while 49 per cent of income was derived from these sources.

Gambling does not appear to be common within the village but intervillage visits are not infrequently arranged for this purpose. Few men in the sample claimed any significant winnings or losses for the year but during our stay some men, in one evening's gambling, lost $22 to members of another village who had already won $10 from them in 1962.

454 Nine of the 12 householders were holding personal savings at the time of our survey; in 3 instances where men had formerly been wage-earners for some time they had opened Savings Bank accounts which they retained.

A son's wife living with 1 householder had received some money from her kinsmen and some from her husband who was absent in employment. The money had been banked but was not recorded in our survey.

Apart from $60 in savings certificates maturing in 1966 which are contributions to joint accounts (see Appendix B), the ratio of current savings ($10 per household) to annual income is 1:2.7. Savings had decreased by 40 per cent during 1962 but income also seems to have been considerably higher in the previous year.

In a sample of 13 men from a nearby area in 1951 Belshaw (1951:12) found that only slight withdrawals had been made from pass books issued about 2 years earlier under the War Damage Compensation scheme; almost no deposits had been made. The average account had a balance of £4 with a range from £1.17s. to £8.1s. The same people claimed to hold other cash in hand ranging [131] from nil to £39 with an average of just under £10. A small part of this may have been cash payments made under the scheme. Refugees from the Mt Lamington eruption received other payments later from a relief fund. We could obtain no reliable information to account for any money received by members of our sample on either occasion.

436 The evidence is slight but a comparison of the 2 small samples suggests the possibility that with an increase over 10 years in the range of sources of income and in consumer demand, money is now circulating more freely in the area.

[301] [237] [321] [555] Shell and bone ornaments (hambo) and head-dresses (di) - made from feathers of the bird-of-paradise, mountain parrots, hornbills and cassowaries - known collectively as di hambo, are held by the people of Sivepa as a category of wealth, items in ceremonial presentations and as objects of display. In traditional Orokaiva society these are prestige tokens but seem never to have served as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

A, [See Category 454, pp. 107-108--Analyst]

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Table 6

Income of 12 households

Source	Amount (nearest $)	Total	Household range	Average
Paid work:				
Labouring	58			
Councillor	30	88	0-32	8
Sale of primary produce:				
Vegetables and tree crops, etc.	28			
Coffee	22			
Rubber	30	80	0-22	6
Social obligations:				
Bride price	78			
Gifts from local kin and affines	38			
Gifts from absent kin and affines	44	160	0-42	14
		328		28
Savings at start of year:				
Individual		198	0-62	16
Contributions to joint accounts		60	0-12	5

Table 7

Expenditure by 12 households

Items	Amount (nearest $)	Total	Household range	Average
Domestic:				
Food and household	96			
Clothing	42			
Utensils	28	166	0-40	14
Equipment:				
(including gun and cartridges)	90	90	0-56	8
Social obligations:				
Bride price and feast contributions	36			
Other gifts	52	88	0-20	8
Miscellaneous:				
Shares in O.C.G.S.*	20			
Tax (Council)	34			
Gambling	10			
Church donation	2	66	0-18	6
		410		34
Current savings:				
Individual				
Contributions to joint accounts	60		0-12	5

* Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society, which sells $10 shares (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:95).

464 The older men in the sample were restricted in employment
166 opportunities to indentured labour usually outside the Northern
[466] District. The young men on the other hand readily leave village life temporarily to take casual work on European plantations in the district where there is now a greater demand for labour. They may leave their wives and children to be provided for in the meantime by the other side of the family or may have them accompany them to the area where they are employed. These absences interrupt the routine of subsistence activities for the family but the possibility of this course of action is left open by local environmental conditions and the virtual independence of the nuclear family as a gardening unit. There is little seasonal variability and this small group is free to resume any phase of garden activities when and where it chooses.

431 Among the 5 able-bodied and active men of the senior group there seems to be no consistent demand for cash which cannot be met by gifts from their kin or affines and they have sought temporary employment only as a means of meeting some immediate financial requirements. With the exception of the salaried local government councillor the older men received 78 per cent of their total year's income of $88 as gifts.

431 By taking employment more frequently the younger men acquire
454 income which they gradually spend on the range of consumer goods available locally as well as on kinship obligations. However, not all income is spent in this way and, as Belshaw found in this area (1951:11) there is both some capital available for investment and a willingness to contribute money to funds for this purpose if they can be organized.

The men who have spent most years in paid employment also supplement their income by producing rubber and coffee, sometimes with the assistance of their fathers. However, no one has invested heavily in these crops and they provided only $52 or 15.8 per cent of the sample's income for the year.

245 c. Commercial agriculture

(i) Coffee. Four householders in the sample have individual coffee plots with a total of 503[1] trees on 1 acre of land. One of these plots is a section of a former village or 'company' coffee plot. About the time of the opening of the Higaturu Council in 1956 members of Jegase, Timumu and other groups in Sivepe and Binduta villages participated in the planting of 2 'company'

[1] The agricultural census of 1964 recorded 1,100 trees held by 5 growers in Sivepe as a whole (162 were not yet 6 years old and 491 of the trees had been planted more than 10 years before).

Appendix B

The local co-operative venture

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The 3 clan branches in Sivepe have contributed to 2 joint savings accounts; one is shared by Seho and Jegase members and the other belongs to Timumu clansmen. These accounts were opened as part of a scheme involving several neighbouring villages.

In 1960 an officer of the Department of District Administration had recommended that the people in Sivepe and other villages consider opening savings accounts but they claim it was their own wish to pool their money for savings certificates in order to invest in some form of local amenity for which they had for some time been looking to the local government council.

[m]

The members of 2 clan branches at Hamburata village were the first to collect contributions under the leadership of an ex-medical orderly with 6 years' mission education, and others quickly followed their example. Soon most members of 12 clans in 7 villages, Hamburata, Sasembata, Torogata, Sivepe, Singi, Duve and Garombi had deposited money in a 'clan' account and scattered kinsmen in at least 4 other villages had contributed. Either following advice that a given figure should be the target for the first purchase of savings certificates or following an initial example, each of the 12 clans claimed to have collected £30 at first. Ten of them made a second collection of smaller amounts.

In June 1961 the Seho and Jegase people collected £30 and, as the others had already done, bought savings certificates to mature in 5 years. In July another £26 was collected and deposited but no further money has been collected since then.

Once the money had been collected advice was sought from the District Office as to how it might be invested. The plan eventually formulated was that the savings of all clans should be used to establish a trade store and later to acquire a vehicle to supply it. They were advised to arrange to have only an experienced man to manage the enterprise in its first stages and a Sasembata mission

454 474 teacher who had undertaken part of a co-operatives storeman's course was approached for advice. They decided to attempt to finance training for co-operatives for 2 men, but it was over a year before agreement could be reached on the selection of the trainees, 2 Administration Servants employed in Popondetta.

By this time the teacher had disassociated himself from the scheme and advised the participants to discontinue it on the grounds that they had proved themselves incapable of organizing properly constituted meetings, that the villages had failed to co-operate with one another and that they would not seek the assistance of government officers. He told them that the joint accounts were unworkable and that they would need to buy individual £5 shares if they were to proceed with the scheme.

578 The development of the enterprise up to the date of our survey had been impeded by the failure to agree upon a name, an issue which those involved feel to be fundamental, and by the absence of widely accepted leadership. Meetings have been marked by disputes between local government councillors, teachers and leaders of the various descent groups participating and some decisions arrived at during meetings have not been supported by villagers who did not attend.

However, we have received some indication since leaving Sivepe that more positive co-ordination in the neighbourhood has been achieved in the meantime and concrete plans have been put forward with a view to establishing and operating a co-operative store on the main road to Popondetta (E. Waddell: personal communication). [366] There are at present at least 3 trade stores within easier reach of Sivepe than this.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

241 was also diverted to the plantations being established in the Sangara area under the Ex-Servicemen's Credit Scheme.[1]

The increased rate of development after the war, a re-orientation in policy towards individual rather than communal holdings, the allocation of the majority of settlement blocks under the ex-servicemen's scheme to Papuans and New Guineans, and the establishment of the Higaturu Local Government Council in 1956 and the Oro Bay Council in 1963 have probably all served to transmit to the Orokaiva 443 a sense of participation in the development process. At the same time, incentives for the acquisition of cash have grown with the proliferation of trade stores (including over twenty owned by Orokaiva men) and the establishment of companies seeking local share capital, while interest in the sale of produce has increased with improvement in communications and with immediate cash payments for such sales.

241 An important factor in the growth of interest in cash cropping 657 has been the implementation of a variety of land tenure and marketing schemes, directed entirely towards the indigenous producers and [425] in part initiated by them. Since 1957 the Higaturu council has been encouraging the registration of individual cash crop holdings,[2] the Yega people at Gona have begun subdividing clan land into permanent holdings, while similar developments within the context 474 of the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963 have already been initiated.[3] There are now ten co-operatives operating in the sub-district, predominantly along the coast; most are concerned primarily with marketing copra and providing retail stores, but this also includes the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society (OCGS), which was established in 1962 to operate a factory previously erected by the Higaturu Local Government Council and to purchase coffee from the growers.[4] By the end of 1964 subscriptions by villagers amounted to $7,010, held in $10 shares, 65 per cent of this total having been raised in the first six months of operation. The society paid its first dividend of 5 per cent in November 1964.

●454 In 1963 an expatriate planter established a local trading company, Oro Ltd, comprising three Papuans on its board of six directors and seeking local share capital in minimum holdings of $5. Again

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[1] See Howlett 1965, for a detailed description.

[2] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:89-93.

[3] Each with varying degrees of success. The Higaturu scheme, for instance, fell into abeyance in 1964 due to a shortage of staff capable of surveying the holdings for which registration had been requested, as well as its doubtful legal validity.

[4] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:94-6.

454 considerable interest was shown, more than $14,000 being subscribed by the Orokaiva in the first six months of operation. However, it appeared during 1964 that this company might experience the same pattern of high initial interest and subsequent disenchantment, accentuated by the failure to pay a dividend at the end of the first year of operation.

439 Cocoa is purchased by both DASF and the Popondetta Cocoa Fermentary Ltd, a company financed entirely by European capital. Plans were being made in 1964 for the ex-servicemen settlers, both indigenous and expatriate, to establish their own fermentary.

366 [438] Weekly markets at Popondetta and Saiho provide outlets for subsistence produce but turnover is small and it is doubtful whether they contribute significantly to many individual incomes.[1] The principal buyer at Saiho is the Public Health Department and at Popondetta, the urban indigenous wage labour force, but in both markets the volume of transactions between subsistence-oriented villagers (primarily involving lime, smoked fish, areca nuts and fresh meat) is increasing.

435 46 [433] The Administration and the Anglican mission buy fresh foods brought to their stations. Since purchase prices were fixed by the Administration at 2c and the mission at 1c per lb,[2] and only a limited quantity is required, there is little incentive for the villager to increase production.

[241] In spite of an increasing commitment to cash cropping, rates of planting and levels of production fluctuate with changing prices and difficulties in selling certain crops. The purchase price for coffee has ranged between 9c and 32c per lb over the period 1955-65 while that for latex has fallen from a peak of 55c per lb during the Korean War boom to 9c per lb in 1965. A Citrus Marketing Scheme elicited much local interest in 1956-57 when fruit was purchased at 5c per lb, but it collapsed with the unwillingness of retailers in Port Moresby to handle the produce.

241 [464] (f) Conclusions

In spite of long participation in cash cropping, Orokaiva involvement is not high. Everywhere commercial production remains subsidiary to subsistence, individual cash crop holdings are almost

[434] [437]

[1] Dakeyne 1965:109; Rimoldi 1966:8. Both show, however, that a few individuals earn worthwhile sums from marketing.

[2] Bartered at this rate in salt, tobacco, razor blades and kerosene.

universally small and there is no evidence to suggest that any village producers are employing labour to increase production.[1]

Monetary investment at the village level is low and there are no motor vehicles owned by individuals or groups of subsistence villagers,[2] although a number of villages now possess copra driers and coffee pulping machines.

The foregoing data suggest three main factors, largely unique to the sub-district, which may explain this situation.

(i) Labour shortages. Since pacification there have been repeated references to a high proportion of the adult male labour force being absent from their villages. Humphries (1923:203) refers to the Kumusi district being a 'famous recruiting-ground for plantation labourers' at the time of the first world war. Patrol reports after the second world war make periodic references to shortages of manpower in the villages and suggest that the regulation maximum of 30 per cent absent was at times exceeded (e.g. Higaturu 1-1543/44). The establishment of plantations under the ex-servicemen's credit scheme attracted much local labour at a time when returns from wage labour were considerably higher than those from cash cropping. Many Orokaiva still prefer wage labour to commercial agriculture as a source of cash.

(ii) Consequences of the disasters. The effects of the war and the volcanic eruption served to accentuate the instability of settlement and fragmentation of groups. Resettlement after the eruption took several years in some cases and is likely to have deterred interest in planting commercial trees, at least in the directly affected area, which was the most densely settled part of the Orokaiva region. The findings quoted earlier[3] suggest that the initial Orokaiva adaption to the volcanic disaster was more active

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[1] Since our survey, one Inonda man has taken a job as a driver in Popondetta and employs a labourer at $3 per week to maintain his food gardens. For a description of four Orokaiva entrepreneurs with large holdings of cash crops see Crocombe 1967.

[2] With the single exception of the indigenous ex-servicemen settlers, several of whom own vehicles; imported foodstuffs comprise a significant element of their diet and considerable use is made of outside labour, commonly kinsmen. Payment, however, is often nominal or in kind.

[3] See p.16.

A,[See Category 731, p.16--Analyst]

525 the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

461 (vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the [65] period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about [623] March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its [797] annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions [436] to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

366 Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

454 Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCGS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

241 Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income [771] is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western [493] Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

man-hours, to be a costly failure.[1] During February and March 1964, some 361 man-hours were spent in cleaning the garden preparatory to planting. The major task of clearing the area had been done the previous year. The immediate cause of the scheme's failure was friction between villagers over the crops to be planted in the garden - the councillor insisted on coffee, cocoa and rubber, while most of the others favoured coffee only. Regardless of this aspect, the episode illustrates some of the problems of communication between the external agencies and the indigenous people.

Preparations in the latter part of 1964 to move the village to the new site were precipitated in part by the belief that, if located near the end of the new and improved access road (the jeep road from Awala running through Sivepe having fallen into disuse during 1964), the sale of their produce would be made more easy.[2] However, because of the uncertainty surrounding the move, several households had by the end of the year stated their intention of remaining in the existing village.

The complexity of the cash cropping situation in Sivepe precludes drawing a clear distinction between cash croppers and non-cash croppers. As Table 4:4 shows, there are various forms and degrees of involvement in commercial agriculture and every household participates in some way. Distinctions drawn on the basis of individual holdings can be most misleading. For example, the head of household 15 is an active cash cropper, although he has no commercial trees of his own, whereas another man, with 77 coffee trees, did not work them at all during 1964. While older people tend merely to assist primary kin and appear to receive little direct payment, others are involved in various ways.

(d) Monetary assets

Individual holdings of money and other property reflect the use of past income and illustrate the extent of investment and changes in material culture.

The monetary assets of 11 households at the end of the survey amounted to $208.60 (see Table 4:5), 26.9 per cent ($56.10) in cash

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[1] It is assumed that communal clearing and subsequent subdivision into individual holdings had been recommended. In the Sivepe case, the councillor had apparently failed to grasp that subdivision should follow clearing. Two householders claim to have been prevented from establishing individual coffee plantings by him because of this misunderstanding.

[2] See pp.34 and 37.A According to a local planter, the Army Engineers (engaged at the time on public works in the Northern District) promised to provide a weekly truck to Popondetta market if the people built a new road.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

A,[See Category 401, pp. 34-37--Analyst]

and the remainder in either shares or savings accounts. Four of the eleven households had no monetary assets at this time, while six had no cash in hand.[1]

Table 4:5

Sivepe: monetary assets of households, January 1965
($)

Household no.	Cash	Savings bank	Shares OCGS	Shares Oro Ltd	Clan savings account	Total
1	24,00	-	10.00	16.00	-	50.00
2	15.00	-	-	20.00	-	35.00
3	-	8.50	-	10.00	-	18.50
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	10.00	-	10.00	-	20.00
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	8.00	-	10.00	10.00	no data	28.00
14	5.10	-	-	-	-	5.10
15	4.00	20.00	10.00	-	18.00	52.00
Total	56.10	38.50	30.00	66.00	18.00	208.60

Savings accounts were not popular on account of their low rate of interest; five members of the sample had previously held accounts but closed them, while only one (the head of household 3) deposited any money during the survey period. Shares in the local companies, the OCGS and Oro Ltd were much preferred. The latter conducted an intensive capital-seeking campaign during 1964 with marked success, and the fact that it caters primarily for the indigenous community (operating its own trade stores and supplying privately-owned ones and in mid-1964 opening a cinema in Popondetta) aided its popularity. However, its failure to declare a dividend that year resulted in considerable disappointment. The OCGS declared a dividend of 5 per cent.

Two members of Timumu clan had contributed to a clan savings account which was supported mainly by clansmen in another village, Soroputa. In 1964 it was decided to use the funds to establish a trade store in that village. Even if implemented it is doubtful whether this store would be profitable, since Steamships Trading

[1] Coffee is not bearing at this time of year and only one man works the rubber plantation at a time, so that little cash was entering the village when the inventory was made.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91]

614 454 443 Company already operates a trade store with a liquor licence close to the village.

(e) Other household property

511 The inventory of property held by the eleven households was divided into 'non-traditional property' and 'property derived from the subsistence sector' (see Tables 4:6 and 4:7). These inventories reveal that, among non-traditional goods, the only items held by nine or more households are axes, bush knives, petos (for cutting grass), blankets, towels, suitcases etc., various outer garments, and mirrors. Clay pots, tapa cloths, combs, lime gourds and string [824] bags are the main items of property derived from the subsistence sector. In addition, all households possess sleeping-mats either made locally from pandanus leaves or bought in a store. Although eight of the households possess hurricane lamps, they seldom have kerosene. Many of the tools were obtained during the second world war or distributed by the Administration after the eruption of Mt Lamington so that the people could re-establish their gardens.

Table 4:7

Sivepe: household property derived from the subsistence sector, November 1964

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
Tools											
Hunting net	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Wooden trough*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Household											
Clay pot	2	2	-	1	-	3	6	1	2	2	2
Gourd (water)	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
Personal											
Sleeping-mat	2	3	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	4	2	2	1	-	12	5	4	8	1
Comb	2	2	-	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	2
Bamboo pipe	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1
Lime gourd	2	2	-	2	-	1	2	1	2	3	4
String bag	3	11	3	4	-	4	6	8	10	5	2
Drum	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Di and hambo**	-	20	10	9	-	5	2	6	9	-	18

[301] * For fermenting coffee.

** Di are ornaments made from feathers and beaks of birds; hambo are shell ornaments. Items made from trade store beads or scrap metal, etc. are excluded.

454 (d) Monetary and other assets

Table 4:12 shows that the monetary assets of the village in November 1964 amounted to $166.70, or $10.40 per adult resident. In contrast with Sivepe, most (67 per cent) was invested in savings bank accounts and almost all the rest was held in cash. Only two men owned shares although householder 23 intended to buy some if those of either Oro Ltd or OCGS proved their value.

Table 4:12

Inonda: monetary assets of households, November 1964
($)

Household no.	Cash	Savings bank	Shares OCGS	Shares Oro Ltd	Total
16	12.95	16.18	10.00	-	39.13
17	3.90	-	-	-	3.90
18	0.80	-	-	-	0.80
19	-	-	-	-	-
20	1.50	36.00	-	10.00	47.50
21	3.00	20.00	-	-	23.00
23	1.07	20.00	-	-	21.07
24	11.80	19.50	-	-	31.30
Total	35.02	111.68	10.00	10.00	166.70

438 [444] In October 1963, the head of household 23 established a trade store, deriving most of his supplies on credit from Oro Ltd's wholesale store in Popondetta. His stock included tinned foodstuffs, rice, biscuits, sugar, salt, tea, soft drinks, chewing gum, cigarettes, trade tobacco, laundry soap, matches, kerosene, torch batteries, clothing, razor blades and playing cards. In addition, he obtained some goods from Chinese-owned stores where the wholesale prices, particularly for rice, were considerably lower. Store customers included people from Inonda and neighbouring villages and passers-by on the main road. Business was best between February and April 1964 when construction gangs were improving this road. By July, most of the villagers had moved to the new site and a new, better-stocked store was opened about two and a half miles away, and sales of the Inonda store began to decline. When the store-owner moved to the new site, he did not begin rebuilding the store until late in December and kept only a few goods (biscuits, tobacco and kerosene) in his house.

511 [777] (e) Other household property

Table 4:13 shows the inventories of household property acquired directly or indirectly from the cash sector of the economy, including

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

484 431 money received from them. As demonstrated in Table 10:15, such people serve as a major source of storebought goods, other than foodstuffs. The size of such gifts is demonstrated by the following two cases.

One: a householder visited his sister and sister's husband (also his wife's brother) working in Port Moresby. At the end of his visit he received $20 in cash, a dog and a suitcase containing the following items - 4 dresses, 2 pairs of underpants, 4 pairs of shorts, 5 shirts, 10 lengths of calico, 1 skirt, 2 pairs of child's shorts, 1 child's dress, 11 plates, 1 cauldron, 7 spoons, 1 blanket, 1 sleeping mat, 2 handkerchiefs and a child's shirt. From another of his wife's brother he received a wrist watch, while a third man paid his air fare back to Popondetta.

Two: a teenage girl spent about two months visiting and assisting her father's mother's brother's daughter and her husband on their holding at Sangara. During the course of her stay she received $1 in cash and at the end a further $2 together with the following items - flour (50c), margarine (30c), fish (20c), meat (80c), sugar (20c), rice (50c), tobacco (10c), matches (05c), and chewing gum (10c).

511 The expenditure patterns of cash are much the same for both cash and non-cash croppers; in both cases trade store purchases account for about half and payments to external agencies (licences, tax and mission offerings) account for a further one-fifth of the total. Non-cash croppers have less money available but utilise it in much the same manner - in effecting what are largely necessary exchanges [436] with the external sector. The small amount of money circulating as exchanges between villagers (12 per cent of income and 15 per cent of expenditure) reveals the non-cash croppers as realising a net credit of about $10, the cash croppers a debit of about $15. While little reliance can be placed on these figures they do seem to confirm the villagers' recognition of a distinct though restricted movement of money towards the former to supplement their limited cash resources and fulfil their requirements for it. In fact, the incomes of cash cropping households exceed those of all others, [556] while, of the five households with the highest incomes, the heads of four are the most respected within the sample. Thus, as with work, the intensity of exchange or activity in the monetary sector is apparently recognised as one criterion engendering respect among villagers. Alternatively, at the present level of commercialisation, it does not appear to conflict with customary considerations in the evaluation of status.

● 454 Even in the case of households with incomes of $2 per week there is little evidence of serious attempts at capital formation or investment. Any periodic excess of income over expenditure is normally kept as cash on hand in the house to be drawn on as required. Only four instances of monetary investments, involving two

A, [See Category 437, p. 214--Analyst]

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Table 10:10

Sivepe: cash income and expenditure over 46.5 weeks, by household
($)

Household	Income	Expenditure	Net change to cash balances
1	95.99	63.80	32.19
2	78.57	61.00	17.57
3	79.92	60.49	19.43
4*	0.50	-	0.50
5	42.87	36.44	6.43
6	3.50	2.10	1.40
7**	12.50	12.30	0.20
8	11.75	10.62	1.13
9	62.35	60.29	2.06
10	17.50	5.80	11.70
11	30.90	21.83	9.07
12***	2.15	3.68	-1.53
13	58.75	45.49	13.26
14	21.98	16.63	5.35
15	77.08	67.82	9.26
Total	596.31	468.29	128.02
Mean per week:			
All households	0.99	0.78	0.21
Cash croppers	1.52	1.21	0.31
Non-cash croppers	0.36	0.26	0.10

* Surveyed for 6.5 weeks only. ** Surveyed for 27.5 weeks only.
*** Surveyed for 11.5 weeks only.

454 households, were recorded and each followed the receipt of a substantial gift or payment of cash. In the case of the first household, the head received a remittance of $12 in March from a brother and he immediately purchased shares to the value of $10 in Oro Ltd; in December he received another remittance of $10 from his sister's husband and immediately deposited $6 in his savings account, while a week later he received $10 from the husband of another sister and his wife deposited an additional $6 in the savings account. The head of the second household sold coffee to the value of $25.75 in July, depositing $10 of it in a clan savings account. The two households registered the second and fourth highest incomes respectively.

The irregularity of cash income, and therefore the need to hold cash against expected requirements, is undoubtedly an important factor in this apparent failure to accumulate capital. However, this consideration apart, it can be variously interpreted as, one, the inadequacy of income in relation to immediate requirements and demands from the monetary sector, two, a belief that there is no

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Table 10:11

Sivepe: patterns of income and expenditure over 46.5 weeks, by cash cropping status

	Cash croppers		Non-cash croppers		Total	
Number of adults	19		16		35	
Man-weeks surveyed	731.5		509.5		1,261.0	
	$	%	$	%	$	%
Sources of income						
Cash crops	174.95	35	15.00	15	189.95	32
OCGS dividend	5.40	1	-	-	5.40	1
Paid employment*	18.90	4	2.25	2	21.15	4
Remittances**	162.50	33	3.80	4	166.30	28
Gifts and payments from Sangara settlers	0.40	-	33.60	33	34.00	6
Subsistence produce: marketing, hawking and casual sales	16.50	3	10.75	11	27.25	5
Sales to Administration	7.80	2	3.45	3	11.25	2
Gifts, loans and payments from villagers	47.05	9	25.40	25	72.45	12
Researchers	62.03	13	6.53	6	68.56	11
Total	495.53	100	100.78	99	596.31	100
Mean per man-week	0.66		0.20		0.47	
Directions of expenditure						
Trade store purchases	189.91	48	38.82	53	228.73	49
Mission (Mothers' Union) purchases	4.35	1	4.10	6	8.45	2
Marketing, hawking and casual sales	18.08	5	2.60	4	20.68	4
Fares, travel	12.00	3	0.50	1	12.50	3
Bank deposits/shares	32.00	8	-	-	32.00	7
Administrative agencies	4.00	1	-	-	4.00	1
Mission offerings	45.09	11	2.60	4	47.69	10
Local Government Council tax	28.00	7	14.00	19	42.00	9
Gifts, loans and payments to villagers	57.90	15	10.34	14	68.24	15
Gambling losses	4.00	1	-	-	4.00	1
Total	395.33	100	72.96	101	468.29	101
Mean per man-week	0.53		0.14		0.37	

* Including local government Councillor's salary.
** Including gifts from wage earners in District.

454 worthwhile way in which they can invest their money or, three, a general inability of the people to handle their money effectively. An analysis of the pattern of expenditure on commodities (which account for 55 per cent of total expenditure) throws some light on the problem since, in this area, the people themselves initiate the act rather than any other institution.

511 Food and stimulants account for 62 per cent of the expenditure on commodities (see Table 10:12). In a predominately subsistence economy such purchases are generally considered to be of a luxury nature and superfluous to basic requirements. This view cannot be substantiated on the basis of the Sivepe evidence. Sixty-three per cent of rice purchases, the single most important item, are made during July, August and September - the latter part of the dry season - when there is a serious shortage of cultivated foods. The consumption of tinned meat and fish compensate, to some extent, for the inadequate protein content in the subsistence diet. Similarly, purchases of subsistence produce are restricted to the locally scarce resources of fish and meat, together with lime which is eaten with areca. Other foodstuffs include biscuits, bread, sugar and salt and only certain of these can be treated as purely luxury purchases. The other important commodities purchased are clothing and household goods (principally cooking utensils). Both are now essential elements in the material culture, having displaced their traditional counterparts.

438 In comparing the purchasing patterns of cash and non-cash croppers 439 (and therefore of high and low income households) a clearer pattern 511 of priorities emerges. Among the latter clothing is the most important commodity purchased, followed by rice, meat and fish, and household goods. Together these account for 72 per cent of all purchases. The range of purchases of cash croppers is more widely distributed, the above commodities accounting for only 50 per cent of the total. Thirteen per cent of their expenditure is on goods used in hunting - cartridges, torches, batteries and bulbs - and it is in this activity particularly that their larger incomes are of direct significance in effecting a technological advance and increasing productivity. Their more substantial purchases of rice can be viewed in a similar light - reducing their need to make sago, so enabling them to continue their cash cropping activities through the dry season.

In general purchasing patterns can be readily understood in terms of the requirements of the village economy. Expenditure is largely restricted to goods which have displaced their traditional counterparts or which compensate for seasonal food shortages and there is little evidence of extravagance.

At Inonda there is a generally expressed preference for wage employment. Compared with most other activities, returns in this are less, but a weekly income is assured. By contrast several hours may be spent in hunting or fishing and marketing with little or no return, and gambling may result in loss. Shortly after the end of the survey four men from Inonda obtained employment in Popondetta, involving a ten-mile journey to work each day. At the normal wage rate for casual labour the returns would be particularly low, while full-time employment would also make it difficult for them to maintain their food gardens. Although some men are able to call on young men from other villages to assist in garden maintenance,[1] this is not always possible and married men often need to leave their jobs to fulfil obligations in the village and embark on a period of intensive garden work.

Capital formation and investment and the utility of money are matters of immediate concern to the villager who participates in the cash economy in order to raise his standard of living. Trade store stocks are restricted to cheap consumer goods which give the purchaser little lasting satisfaction. Earnings are so small that once major commitments such as council taxes are settled, what remains is often sufficient only for minor purchases. Facilities for the effective saving of cash are inadequate; people are unwilling to walk several miles to deposit small sums at a savings bank agency, and money held in the house is immediately available for casual demands. This unsatisfactory situation is an inevitable feature of a predominately subsistence economy. For this reason villagers appear to place some importance on the size of individual cash payments regardless of the labour input involved, for, the greater the sum, the greater the potential utility of the money. It is in this context that the particular significance of remittances to the Sivepe economy can be understood. All important instances of capital saving and investment in the two villages followed receipts of large sums of cash.[2]

The pre-eminence in Sivepe, in terms of size of cash payments, of sales of coffee, pigmeat and remittances is shown in Table 13:3. In spite of the considerable price fluctuations which may occur, coffee is the only one for which there is any degree of reliability of income. The position of pigmeat in terms of size of payment and of returns to labour explains the very considerable temptations evidenced in Sivepe to 'market', while the small payments for rubber, which are a direct function of its low value per unit weight, provide a partial explanation for the failure to develop it further as a cash crop, in spite of its relatively high returns to labour.

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[1] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:64.

[2] See pp.204-5 and 256.

of Orewo lineage of the Kurou clan of Yega, who had been educated to Standard IV at Gona Mission School and had spent the year before the war working at Bunting's store at Cape Killerton. Just prior to the war he joined the Papuan Infantry Battalion and became a corporal. During the war an Australian soldier with whom he was friendly convinced him of the possibility of raising money from short-term crops. The Administration had introduced copra-making much earlier, but prices were low and there was little enthusiasm for the crop.

Even before the formation of the G.P.T., Samuel had convinced most of the Yega of the desirability of co-operative farming. Subscriptions were called for: money was available from war damage compensation and most Yega households subscribed from $10 to $20, each person contributing as much as he wished.

Clearing bush for the co-operative gardens was begun at four sites in mature rain forest at Ononda, Garara, Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari. Little information was available on the subsequent operations at Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari but some details were obtained for the Ononda and Garara projects.

Samuel placed an ex-serviceman comrade in charge at Ononda. A site was selected by Nixon Kairembora, the Yega 'land custodian', between Ononda and Epa Creeks.[1] Meanwhile some of the neighbouring Beuru and Ahora people obtained Samuel's consent to join the Yega in their co-operative efforts, paid him money and were permitted by him to assist with the clearing of bush at Ononda.[2]

Crops were planted at Ononda by co-operative effort for two years. The man in charge says that good crops of peanuts were grown and sold to the Administration, being taken by headload to the coast, thence by canoe to Cape Killerton. The money from the sale of these crops was paid to Samuel Ungega who banked it at Higaturu. Unfortunately, no records of the amounts obtained are now available.[3] Large quantities of sweet potatoes were also

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[1] For the history of this land see pages 30 and 48 and Fig.7 of the previous article.

[2] When asked whether the fact that the Ahora and Beuru had cleared bush at Ononda would strengthen their claims to the land the Yega replied in the negative. They stated that non-Yega were employed only in the capacity of workmen: they were paid in produce at the time and had no further rights.

[3] One of Samuel's brothers, who was a young boy at the time of Samuel's death in the Mt Lamington eruption, said he remembered numbers of Samuel's books being burned and thrown away in the bush when relatives went through his belongings.

474 The finances of the store were under continual surveillance
443 both by the local inspector and by the Assistant Registrar of
[657] Co-operatives in Port Moresby to whom regular reports were submitted
[454] by the inspector. A general reserve fund was maintained and was fully invested. Provision for depreciation was made every six months; this money was banked so that the provision of a new store building would be possible within about ten years.

[438] The Cape Killerton store operated as a normal retail trading store but over three quarters of its business was conducted with its shareholders. In January 1963 there were 578 shareholders in the Gona villages co-operative store, of whom 108 (19 per cent) were Yega people. Yega shareholders purchased 34 per cent of all goods sold[1] while non-shareholders bought 13.5 per cent.[2]

[434] The high rate of spending of Yega shareholders relative to the total membership was because the Yega people live nearest to the store at distances ranging from nil to four miles, and because the Yega probably received a higher cash income than the other groups.

464 The Yega had since the early 1930s been within walking distance
167 of one of the best mission schools in the Northern District, with
[368] a European teacher permanently on the staff. In consequence young
[871] Yega men, who almost without exception left the villages to enter
[797] paid employment, were able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs.
[434] In a sample group of 18 such wage-earners interviewed, the average remittance to relatives and friends in the village during 1962 was $110 p.a. As 40 per cent of the adult male work force was absent in wage-employment, a considerable amount of cash was being injected into the Yega economy. In addition, some Yega obtained a regular cash income from produce sold in Popondetta market (see Dakeyne 1965:102 ff.).

474 Expansion of membership in the G.V.N.S. Co-operative had almost
443 ceased in 1964: 561 members in 1958 increased to 578 in 1961. As
438 a branch store was opened at Buna in 1962, effective shareholder support for the Killerton store seemed likely to diminish. In any event there could be no major increase in shareholder numbers among the Yega, for nearly every adult Yega man resident in the area was already a shareholder in the co-operative. The bulk of the store's business was done with its shareholders but non-shareholding friends, such as members of a shareholder's family or visitors from the towns, were asked by shareholders to use their share numbers when making

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[1] Calculated from the rebates given in December 1962.

[2] Calculated on the basis of sales for the months October-December 1962.

dents of the village and £7 from non-resident kin. Of the gifts of money £3 came from resident kin and the balance from kin living elsewhere. The feast donations (with the exception of a few shillings) were given by non-residents, some of whom were kin, but most of whom were acquaintances living within a radius of several miles.

Food and household costs constitute the major item of expenditure, but a considerable proportion of the imported food is purchased for funerals, feasts and the entertainment of visitors. Part of the food costs may therefore be considered as costs of meeting social obligations. Within the local community, money is distributed through domestic obligations to provide for visitors and kin, and also through ceremonial (usually related to life crises) when cash and other property are exchanged. Probably the greatest cause for its circulation within the community, however, is gambling. Men who are earning wages usually gamble at least once a week and from observation of several games it seems that each player brings from 3/- to £1/-/- or more. Although the winner for the evening usually gives back a token sum to each loser, he retains most of the money himself. It is understood that gambling is widespread in the area.

Seven of the eight families had some cash in hand (we have shown this as "savings" though it was not necessarily specifically set aside as savings). The councillor looked after his own money, most of which he kept in a savings bank account. Only one other man had a savings account, and in it he held both his own and his son-in-law's money. The son-in-law felt reluctant to ask for money from the account except to meet social obligations. Two half-brothers (one married and the other single) gave most of their money to their father who seems to have made the decisions about expenditure for the extended family as a whole. The two other men in the village were responsible for looking after their own savings. As with non-monetary valuables, cash and bank books are usually cared for by women, but they have little or no say in the purposes for which the money is spent.

informal 'company' was formed to operate the enterprise. There were sixteen shareholders, all residents of A's hamlet or the absent sons of residents. A contributed $144 in cash while the others contributed $10 each. This money is used as working capital and placed in a Cocoa Account at the savings bank. It is controlled by A's eldest son, who is referred to as chairman of the company and is generally responsible for the handling and marketing of produce.

Wet cocoa beans were bought from villagers from moneys in the Cocoa Account at 3 cents per pound and fermented and dried. They were shipped through a local trading firm and sold on the London market. The fermentary has not been very successful because most villagers outside A's hamlet sold to a European fermentary which collected the beans and paid a higher price. Another, and perhaps more important, reason that the local fermentary was not patronised lay in tensions and divided loyalties within the neighbouring villages. From early 1962 until May 1963 only 7,080 pounds of wet cocoa beans were processed using the temporary fermentary. No later figures are available but the credit balance in the Cocoa Account rose from $174.07 in June 1963 to $470 in January 1966.

All four entrepreneurs aspire to owning a motor vehicle. A's early attempts were declined by officials,[1] and his attempt to establish a bus service in 1963 (for which he had sufficient finance) was thwarted when the only licence was granted to an expatriate. He still gives top priority to buying a vehicle for his own cartage and for hire. B had the funds but not the driving skill.

The difficulty of acquiring a skill such as driving is often overlooked. For a person in a rural area it is usually necessary to go to a town and get a job. Even then one may spend several years in an unskilled job without getting the opportunity to learn to drive. Few Papuans have vehicles and most people are naturally reluctant to allow others to practise on their vehicles. B's son has now tried unsuccessfully for three years to find an opportunity to learn to drive. C and D have each been seeking a cheap second-hand vehicle for some time, but the likelihood of establishing a successful carrying business is doubtful, for overheads are high, business would probably be irregular and many of the potential customers would have difficulty in paying. In the long term, as incomes rise, there will certainly be openings for such ventures. In the meantime, however, there is a danger that a transport business would survive only if it was subsidised in part at least from

[1] Official approval was then necessary for indigenous people to go into debt.

income derived from cash-cropping and trading. Prestige may be an even more important motivation to the acquisition of vehicles than it is with trade stores.

Other property

As shown in Table 3 the entrepreneurs have tools to the average replacement value of $30 and equipment associated with their cash-cropping to an average replacement value of $180 - an average of $210 per man. By comparison Orokaiva people of Inonda village had only about $13 and Sivepe village about $18 worth of tools and equipment per household.[1]

The entrepreneurs all had a range of consumers durable goods far beyond that found in villages. A and B owned bicycles worth about $50 each, A and D each had a radio which cost $60 and $47 respectively, and A and D also each owned wood-burning stoves costing about $70 each. The wife of C had a sewing machine which cost $70 (not listed in the table of tools and equipment as it is used only for domestic purposes). All had kerosene lamps and three of the four had clocks or watches. The average replacement value of the above items was in the region of $125 per man. It is estimated that possessions of this kind in Orokaiva villages in which we worked would average about $10 per householder.

The houses of the entrepreneurs are all somewhat larger than the average village house, and for many years B maintained two homes - one in his coffee garden and one in the cocoa garden. D's home is much more elaborate than the others and contains crockery, cutlery and kitchen utensils worth over $50 as well as beds, chairs, tables and curtains which are almost never found among villagers. A has a modern cocoa fermentary worth $500, B has a coffee drying store and trays, estimated worth $80, and C a copra drier worth about $100.

By comparison with other Orokaiva people the entrepreneurs have few livestock, at least partly because they damage the root systems of the coffee and cocoa trees. A, B and C had none at all and D kept thirteen fowls from which he hopes to breed for commercial egg and poultry production. Householders at Inonda and Sivepe, by contrast, kept an average of two pigs and two to three fowls each.

At the request of the entrepreneurs, details of their individual holdings of cash are not included in this paper and can only be made available to researchers or to others with the permission of the entrepreneurs. All four have savings accounts, the average

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

[1] Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:44-5, Rimoldi 1966:25. Other comparisons in this section are drawn from the same sources.

balance in December 1965 being close to $300. The value of savings certificates averaged $10, shares in Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society and Gona Co-operative Society $10, shares in Oro Ltd $85 and cash in hand $42, giving an average total of all liquid assets of $447.[1] In both cash and other liquid assets A, B and C were much better off than D, though D's consumption level appeared to be very much higher because of his government development loan.

A, C and D have no traditional valuables (hambo and di) though in each case their brothers do have. B had $87 worth in May 1963.[2] The averages for Inonda and Sivepe villages, by comparison, were $18 and $11 per man. Whereas Inonda people acquired most of their valuables by inheritance or in traditional exchanges, B acquired almost all of his for cash.[3] In his young days he bought some when visiting distant places but most of them have been acquired when people appeal to him at tax collection time (tax is $4 per year) or when they need cash for other urgent necessities. The visitor presents him with a valuable and asks for 'help' in the form of its cash value. Most persons requesting this help have been distant maternal kin, but some are friends with whom he had trading or work connections in earlier years. The fact that none come from his own village is said to be because neighbours or close relatives would be ashamed to ask for money in this way. The other three entrepreneurs say they decline requests of this kind.

Income

An attempt to assess annual expenditure was abandoned. It is difficult enough to assess income which comes in relatively large amounts from limited sources and at long intervals and for which some records are available as a check. Expenditure, on the other hand, is in much smaller amounts, for a much wider range of commodities and for which almost no documentary evidence is available.

An assessment of income is given in Table 4.

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[1] Cash savings of Inonda and Sivepe village householders, on the other hand, averaged $24 and $21 respectively.

[2] For method of valuing hambo and di, see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:97.

[3] We have heard of recent examples of sale within villages elsewhere in the Orokaiva area.

Liquid assets. The three groups of entrepreneurs show a clear progression in average savings, group I averaging $37.32, group II $212.01 and group III $322.66. The details are given in Table 17. 463 472 454

Table 17

Entrepreneurs' liquid assets

Entrepreneur	Savings bank	Settlers Savings Club	Shares in co-operative or cash society	Cash	Total	Average for group
A	30.00	6.00			36.00	
B	5.30		60		65.30	$37.32
C	42.00				42.00	
D	6.00				6.00	
E	300.90			62.00	362.90	
F*	2.65				2.65	$212.01**
G	?				?	
H	320.00		12.50		332.50	
I	224.00		10.00		234.00	
J	?				?	$322.66**
K	536.00				536.00	
L	198.00				198.00	

* Savings were much higher but used on brother's wife's funeral and food to supplement garden produce during drought.

** Averaged for three persons only. G did not have his account book with him and said he did not remember the amount. J is said to have substantial savings but was not home when the data were collected and his brother did not know the extent of his savings.

The loans received by the entrepreneurs are shown in Table 18. As mentioned above in connection with cash-cropping, there is a negative correlation between extensive cash-cropping and success as an entrepreneur. This is further borne out by the fact that the only three entrepreneurs to receive loans of $1,500 from the Land Board have planted the most cash crops and are among the less successful entrepreneurs. 463 472 426 657

The receipt of a loan to assist in the establishment of a store seems to be correlated positively with entrepreneurial success. It must be remembered, however, that none of the most successful stores had been open for more than fifteen months.

383 654 and later to be provided by the people themselves. This idea was taken up by the villagers and the first bush rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was purchased by the Department of Agriculture on 5 June 1964.

[439] An Agricultural Assistant was stationed full time at Ombi-Tara and he helps to grade, weigh and bale the rubber.[1] The baled rubber is purchased monthly by an Agricultural Officer who drives to Ombi-Tara from Popondetta. It is marketed in Australia through the Papuan Rubber Pool.

249 434 Tapping is organised on a rotation system, with one man tapping the bush rubber stand each month, producing between 70 and 200 lb of Ribbed Smoked Sheet, and earning between $12 and $34, depending of his diligence and the price of rubber.

383 474 [654] [402] [454] In mid 1964 the villagers built a smoke house, a machine house and a baling house, all of local materials, for the equipment on loan from the Department of Agriculture. The baling press was provided on permanent loan by a local planter.

On 27 October 1964 an Ombi-Tara Village Savings Account was opened at a bank in Popondetta with the sum of $227.50. During the following year money was paid in at irregular intervals at an average rate of about $14 per month.

On 12 February 1965 the Ombi-Tara people paid $177.72 for their own rollers and coagulating pans which they now use for processing, leaving the Department of Agriculture free to transfer its equipment to another recently initiated scheme. Extra coagulating pans were bought for $91.20 on 16 October 1965, leaving a balance of $117.84 in the village account.

[651] No deposits were made between October 1965 and the end of January 1966 because of the need to save money to pay the Local Government Council tax ($5 per man) and the Mission jubilee contribution ($2 per householder).

243 [797] While the bush rubber processing project appears to have been a success, almost every other attempt made by the Ombi-Tara people at planting cash crops has failed. They participated in a communal rice growing project in 1950, encouraged by the Anglican Mission, but it was a failure, as were similar projects in other parts of the district. Later in the 1950s a communal cocoa plantation of some 400 trees was established with Administration encouragement. Disputes over the organisation of work and the distribution of proceeds caused the abandonment of the project shortly afterwards.[2]

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[1] During our stay all rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was graded Ribbed Smoked Sheet No.2.

[2] On the communal rice and cocoa experiments in the Northern District see Crocombe 1964a:29-33.

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Mount Lamington

individual villagers. The houses were built on a standard pattern, not, as might be thought, to act as warehouses or storehouses or as offices, but as eating places for the co-operators. Long tables and benches were erected in them where meals were eaten on return from work. The whole movement seems to have been built upon faith—faith in God's assistance, and faith that, if certain procedures were adopted, certain results would follow.

Despite these very grave disadvantages, the future for native enterprise is not necessarily bad. "Co-operation" to these people does not necessarily mean co-operation in our sense. The word is used by them sometimes to mean nothing more than rice-production, sometimes to indicate the house built for the co-operators, sometimes simply meaning a better way of life. The Northern Division is remarkable for the variety of agricultural experiment that has taken place over a number of years. There are native owned rubber and coffee plantations, excellent citrus fruit is grown, and a wide variety of introduced vegetables have been planted and marketed. It may turn out that co-operative finance and marketing is more useful than co-operative production and that rice is not the most suitable crop. The whole matter needs skilled agricultural investigation and much more discussion with the people. But there is no doubt that some form of native business activity is required. And despite the ravages of the volcano there is still a fund of ready cash available for initial capital outlay. The Mission holds several hundred pounds on behalf of co-operators, and there are several hundred more still held by co-operative officials in village boxes. In addition to this money already subscribed, the people still have savings. I examined, for instance, thirteen savings bank books as a sample for the Hagenahambo-Timbeki-Popota people. The money in these originated entirely from War Damage Compensation payments, and there was an average of £4 held in balance, in a range from £1 17s. to £8 1s. In addition the same people stated that they had money in boxes, with an average of just under £10, in a range from nil to £2 to £39. It is impossible to work out from this sample the money likely to be held in the whole area; but it does indicate that there is capital available for minor equipment.

The general desire for co-operation and community development which, in a vague way, underlies the present aspirations of the people, raises numerous problems of a technical nature. Mass literacy, education in bookkeeping and technical trades, medical services, agricultural research and extension, all have their part to play, and political organizations have to be devised which are suitable instruments of control for these backward people. The role of anthropology in such a situation, which is becoming more and more common in the Pacific, is not only one of research to delineate the starting line of change. We need to know a great deal more about the ways in which people react to such stimuli and the way in which adjustments are made within native society over periods of time. Knowledge of adjustments which come through migration would have been particularly valuable in the Lamington situation. There is a need to perfect techniques of interpreting the hopes of people

177 concepts dr[illegible] from the scene of world affairs. While among the
829 Orokaiva, I heard talk about Vietnam, Indonesia, Africa, India. The political orientation displayed was a mild kind of nationalism, and
[203] a sense of closeness to newly independent non-white states. But the information, derived from radio broadcasts and speeches by councillors, introduced an acculturative kind of perspective. Its dissemination is being actively encouraged by the Australian authorities.

465 Use of money: Before the eruption, money played a very minor role
[464] in village life. It was earned by men who were away for limited periods working on plantations. Money wages on plantations were, and are, extremely low; wages for agreement labour in 1962 were, for instance, $39 per annum for the first year of which $12 is paid out in monthly installments and the rest at the end of the year. In the second year, the rate rose to $45.50 p.a. (Howlett, 1965) Urban wages are a great deal higher than this; most Sivepe men who were absent on employment worked on urban jobs. At the same time, a regular income was derived from coffee.

464 Sivepe men were simply not interested in jobs at plantation rates of pay, nor were they interested in "carrying" jobs for the
435 government even though wages in that case were higher. They were also
438 indifferent to selling their garden products on the Saiho and Popondetta markets, as there were frequent gluts, prices were low and carrying goods to market was an unduly arduous task.

Money was used largely to buy goods in the luxury rather than
436 the subsistence sphere. Money was essential for payment of taxes
511 and for a minimum of clothes, often acquired cheaply at jumble sales. Otherwise, it was used to buy tobacco, food for feasts, kerosene mainly used for feasting occasions, cartridges for hunting, again for feasts. Among the larger purchases made were radios, pressure lamps, bicycles, tools; all these, however, could never be paid for with current income. One had to depend on special windfalls: a gift from
● 454 a relative in town, a bride price. Money was not only for spending,
556 however; it was also for saving. I shall refer to the organisation of corporate saving later; in addition a number of Sivepe men had savings, of the order of $10-$20, sometimes more, hidden away. This money was kept for special occasions, but in addition, the very fact of possessing it was regarded as important. I was once told that Europeans were powerful because they had money; the Orokaiva could get power only if they too possessed savings.

If money was definitely highly valued, it was only to a limited
436 extent regarded as a standard of value. If we accept some model such
437 as was suggested by Salisbury (1962), we may say that the Orokaiva have three spheres of exchange: a subsistence, luxury and ritual sphere, while bank notes are used for special, often ritual occasions.
[461] In the acquisition of luxury goods of any kind, including money, the Orokaiva tend to weigh the benefits gained by them against their cost in time and unpleasantness and against the benefits that can be gained from other investments. Money is, in general, wanted only if it can

plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establishment of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963: 107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase) evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one. It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timuny clan, to which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans. One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966, when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained $158.

The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the Ambi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta. In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers. The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The carrier was an affine.

Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values. They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted) but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The people of Sivepe, as well as Hoborita werevery much aware that the position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they

622 orderly. This man, like the "committee" in Sivepa, was responsible
624 for the disciplinary aspects of local government--law and order, hygiene, organisation of working parties. The giving of such orders was not considered "fitting" for the councillor who kept aloof and worked through the "committee" as intermediary while still making the basic decisions. This dual control was convenient when, for instance, the councillor wanted old houses rebuilt and set along a straight line determined by him, while the people were not very enthusiastic. It never became clear just whose authority was treated lightly; no doubt the leaders are waiting for some excuse, such as a feast, for pressing the urgency of renovation. The councillor was, above all, the ideologist for the New Day.

794 Two other formal organisations in Hohorita pursued ends likewise
479 related to development. One of them was a church committee similar to the one at Sasembata; the second was a cooperative known as "Village Improvement" (in English) which was raising money for a purpose yet to be determined. It might be a trade store or a truck.
454 By the time I left, this committee had accumulated almost $1,000, and
452 the purpose then had again been changed: the intention became to invest the money under a government-sponsored scheme for village "Savings and Loan" societies which follow the principle of credit unions.

474 The composition of this committee was interesting: it did not
452 include the councillor, but consisted of the head teacher at Hohorita, and a priest and a public servant both resident in Popondatta. All three belonged to the Hoveopa clan but all three were, by residence and profession, somewhat remote from the village way of life. A number of the villagers who contributed expressed for this scheme the kind of romantic enthusiasm characteristic of many Papuan cooperative movements; it was seen as a means to raise the Papuan to the same level of power as the European. I was told that loans would be granted only for equipment of permanent value--sewing machines, house building materials, lawnmowers, coffee machines and a vague and ominous category described as "special things." There were 66 members.

521 It struck me that at Hohorita, in contrast to other places, individuals and groups were keen to engage me in protracted discussions on ideological and economic matters. It was evident that this was not a mere show and that discussions of the same sort were frequent also in my absence. It was at Hohorita that I first learned, and in the clearest terms, Orokaiva views on race relations, on the significance of the councils and cash cropping, on Africa, on the Americans. Participants in the discussion were often the educated minority which seemed to set the tone for social thought: the ex-mission teachers, ex-medical orderlies, ex-drivers, ex-shopkeepers, etc.--a total of 20 men who had to some extent mastered some Western skilled occupation, and who had chosen to return to their own village. Very often it was the chance of cash cropping that had brought them back home, for they knew that they could thus get financial security and a good life. Some